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ABSTRACT

This paper focuses on investigating the purposive design of learning environments to counter the erosion of social capital in communities and schools in contemporary society. Can schools intentionally replenish stocks of social capital by creating normative systems conducive to the optimal academic and social development of students, and by designing social structures with closure and continuity to support these normative systems? The study examined the notion of "intentionally created social capital" in relation to six high schools, researched as part of the fieldwork phase of a national study of social capital in high schools. Using one of these schools (a rural high school where naturally occurring social capital is characteristic) as a contrast, the study described the normative systems and social structures in five urban and suburban high schools that have sought to build social capital purposively, intentionally, and by design. By delineating the interrelationship between normative systems and social structures in practice, the study attempted to portray social capital as it exists in schools, and to identify the mechanisms used in its creation. (Contains 33 references.) (TEJ)

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SOCIAL CAPITAL BY DESIGN: NORMATIVE SYSTEMS AND SOCIAL STRUCTURES IN SIX HIGH SCHOOLS

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Abstract

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The purposive design of learning environments to counter the erosion of social capital in the communities and schools in contemporary society is the focus of this investigation. Can schools intentionally replenish stocks of social capital by creating normative systems conducive to the optimal academic and social development of students and by designing social structures with closure and continuity to support these normative systems? This study examines the notion of "intentionally created social capital" in relation to six high schools, researched as part of the fieldwork phase of a national study of social capital in high schools. Using one of these schools -- a rural high school where naturally occurring social capital is characteristic -- as a contrast, the study describes the normative systems and social structures in five urban or suburban high schools that have sought to build social capital -- purposively, intentionally, by design. By delineating the interrelationship between normative systems and social structures in practice, the study attempts to portray social capital as it exists in schools and to identify the mechanisms used in its creation.

SOCIAL CAPITAL BY DESIGN:

NORMATIVE SYSTEMS AND SOCIAL STRUCTURES IN SIX HIGH SCHOOLS

The development of social capital theory and its application to education are among the major legacies of James Coleman (1988, 1990). Coleman initially focused on naturally occurring social capital -- a property of dense social networks in close-knit residential community -- that advantaged parents of school children both in the small towns of rural West Virginia and in the urban neighborhoods of Hyde Park and Kenwood where the families shared close connections to the University of Chicago (1987). Within both contexts, relationships among adults, paralleling relationships among their children, constituted a social network that served, in Coleman's view, to benefit the educational and social development of children by channeling the flow of school-related information and ensuring normative consistency.

Unlike geographically enclosed small towns or rural villages or the rare urban neighborhood, cities and suburbs are not environments where social capital with its inherent supports occurs naturally. Because of their openness, diversity, and high rates of social mobility, cities and suburbs are -- for most of their residents -- anomic places (Palmer 1981; Bellah, Madsen, Sullivan, Swidler, and Tipton 1985; Wilson 1996). Families and individuals in these locations lack the social capital that has historically existed in the small town or village. Unlike rural schools in which teachers, administrators, and students typically share a common set of values, schools in urban and suburban areas serve students from increasingly diverse social and cultural backgrounds. Middle and high schools enroll students from different feeder schools, and with varying levels of academic preparation and commitment. Unlike the rural schools in communities where most of the students' parents (and grandparents) have known each other since childhood, parents of the urban and suburban children generally are strangers to each other.

Coleman also invoked social capital theory to account for the differential effectiveness of schools. In comparative studies of public and private schools, Coleman and coauthors attributed the lower dropout rates and higher achievement levels in Catholic high schools to the values of the functional external religious community of the local parish (Coleman and Hoffer 1987; Coleman and Schiller 1992). In actuality, however, Catholic high schools have for decades drawn students from disparate geographical areas and have become less Catholic in their enrollments (Bryk, Lee & Holland 1993). Like their non-denominational counterparts in the private sector, Catholic high schools are more likely to be schools of choice for parents with common academic and social values in mind for their children. Since Catholic high schools depend on the financial and moral support of parents who espouse such values, they work in partnership with them to sustain the normative system characteristic of Catholic education (Bryk, Lee and Holland 1993). At least some of the social capital Coleman noted in Catholic schools is more likely to have resulted from deliberate efforts on the part of the school to involve families of students in the educational process than from their shared religious ideology or association in a local church.

Moreover, other researchers have concluded that the internal organization of Catholic schools accounted for their effectiveness (Bryk and Driscoll 1988; Bryk, Lee, and Holland 1993). Unlike public schools where bureaucratic arrangements typified the organization, Catholic schools typically demonstrate a communal organizational form shaped by the school's tradition, values, and beliefs. Teachers and administrators share a common sense of purpose; their culture tends to be collaborative and collegial. Teachers and other staff members engage in expanded rather than specialized roles. Social interactions among teachers and students are frequent and caring. Liturgical activities and rituals give the school year a particular rhythm. In communally organized schools, teachers share a commitment to their work, their students, and each other that is readily distinguishable from the culture of control that is typical in bureaucratically organized schools (Bryk et al.). Through their normative

systems and social networks, Catholic schools provide students and teachers with stocks of social capital (Bryk et al.).

Based on the belief that students' affiliation with school will enhance their prospects for academic success, public schools aspiring to improve student performance and other outcomes have embarked on various strategies to transform themselves into more personable and student-centered learning environments (Carnegie Council on Adolescent Development 1989; National Association of Secondary School Principals 1996). Schools have restructured into smaller interdisciplinary-teamed units, formed advisories to provide students daily contact with a caring adult and supportive peers, and engaged parents and communities with the process of their children's schooling -- all the while aiming to enhance students' experience of school and to improve the quality of their learning (Newmann and Associates 1996; Marks, Doane and Secada 1998). Effective public high schools are also recognizing that they depend on strong home and school alliances to provide students with the normative consistency needed to support them in their learning and social development. While these restructuring schools probably did not invoke social capital theory as they undertook their initiatives of change, their efforts could be examined through the lens of that theory.

The purposive design of learning environments to counter the erosion of social capital in the communities and schools in contemporary society is the focus of this investigation. Can schools intentionally replenish stocks of social capital by creating normative systems conducive to the optimal academic and social development of students and by designing social structures with closure and continuity to support these normative systems? This study examines the notion of "intentionally created social capital" in relation to six high schools, researched as part of the fieldwork phase of a national study of social capital in high schools (Lee and Croninger 1998). One of these high schools (Calvin Coolidge), rural and comparatively isolated, reflects the naturally occurring social capital that schools in most urban and suburban settings lack. The other five high schools -- three located in large urban

centers (Zachary Taylor, Woodrow Wilson, and St. Francis Assisi), one in a suburb (Cardinal McGuire) and one in a small city (Andrew Jackson)-- represent efforts to create social capital intentionally.

Using the school where naturally occurring social capital is characteristic as a contrast, the study describes the normative systems and social structures in high schools that have sought to build social capital -- purposively, intentionally, by design. By delineating the interrelationship between normative systems and social structures in practice, the study attempts to portray social capital as it exists in schools and to identify the mechanisms used in its creation.

Theoretical Perspective

Social capital takes the form of social relations, social networks, and norms -- particularly of trust and reciprocity (Coleman 1990). Its function is to work productively for individuals and groups, that is, to enable individuals or groups to achieve the ends they desire. Historically, in its primordial form, social capital has occurred naturally within families, kinship networks, and small communities. The closure, stability, and continuity over time that characterize these homogenous social units preserve the values they hold in common. Such naturally occurring social capital is increasingly rare. Multiple trends in modern society -- economic, technological, social, and cultural -- have eroded social capital in its primordial form.

Few schools today embody the naturally occurring social capital that typifies small towns or rural villages. Schools in such enclosed, culturally homogeneous communities are extensions of the families that make up the community. These schools socialize children in the values generally shared among the adults in the community, creating a normative environment where the values are consistent and usually conservative. In these geographically circumscribed locales, adults and their children know

each other well through lifelong contact and familiar interaction in schools, churches, and civic associations. In localities such as these, the relationships that develop among school children reflect counterpart relationships among their parents. The linkages among these relationships between children and adults represent intergenerational closure. Intergenerational closure constitutes a structural loop or relational network for communicating information and providing feedback (Coleman 1988; 1990).

Person-to-person interactions within the social structures, institutions, and relational networks of small towns and rural villages create and sustain the normative environment. Generations tend to mirror each other in that young people who go on to higher education typically leave the community as do those whose social values depart from local norms. The closure and continuity over time of this tight social context render local norms effective as a means of social control. The norms function as a moral force in the community and individuals achieve and maintain status by adhering to them. Deviation from the norms results in sanction through gossip and the loss of reputation.

The loss of the social control (i.e., through norms, reputation, status, and moral force) inherent to such primordial social organizations as families, kinship networks and small communities is, according to Coleman (1993), a primary consequence of this phenomenon. Forms of socially constructed organization that enact social control through the imposition of rules and regulations enforced by sanctions are replacing primordial social organization. In these constructed organizations, people are defined by their roles, positions, and offices. However, depersonalized social constructions are not inevitable. Society can design its institutions in alternative, more personalistic and community-oriented ways. Coleman (1993) argues for the design of institutions in ways that generate social capital and with it, informal means of social control:

> The natural process of spontaneous social organization, with its informal relations, social norms, and status systems, does not die as the primordial institutions of family and church are replaced by constructed organization: The process reasserts itself wherever there is sufficient

closure and continuity to provide the social capital that sustains it. In modern society, this occurs primarily within the constructed organization (p. 12).

A social structure with closure and continuity, Coleman's theory suggests, will generate a normative system with informal mechanisms to ensure the social control necessary to its preservation. When applied to the deliberate design of social structures within a residential area or within a Catholic parish, for example, intentionally constructed social structures might ensure the safety and care of children or preserve or enhance the essential character or deeply held values of the group. When applied to educational institutions, as suggested above, the design of social structures with closure and continuity does little to benefit students unless the structures support a culture with positive normative content aimed at students' academic and social development.

Organizational reform designed to create affiliative, more personable learning environments proved insufficient to bring about the sort of change in restructuring schools that was needed to improve student achievement (Marks, Doane, and Secada 1996, 1998). Structures such as block scheduling, common planning time for teachers, and student advisories oftentimes introduced potentially useful organizational innovation, but the critical feature that distinguished high- and low-performing schools (all of whom had made substantial structural change) -- was the quality and character of the school culture -- the values, beliefs, and norms -- that the structures supported and allowed to grow. The decisive factor in creating high performing schools was the quality and character of the professional community among teachers. Strong professional community among the teachers created a normative system that provided students with the intellectual and social support they needed to achieve at high levels (Marks et al. 1996; 1998).

Schools and communities such as Coleman idealized in depicting the model of intergenerational closure can also be uninspired and dull places, where information is recycled and becomes redundant

(Granovetter 1973). Because of the group's closure, important new information may not be readily available to its members. The most educationally salient characteristic of these enclosed communities, as Morgan and Sorenson (1997) have pointed out is that they are norm-enforcing, an attribute can be a liability, isolating communities from useful mainstream influence. These authors propose an alternative organizational model – the horizon-expanding school. In these schools, the role of parents in contributing to the school is comparatively limited in that it is confined to relationships with teachers (rather than with other parents and administrators as well). Adults from outside the school community – experts, consultants, researchers, professional association colleagues – bring in vitalizing new ideas that improve the school by making it a more productive learning environment.

The notion of creating closed social structures to build social capital is clearly insufficient. While such structures are designed to ensure the interests of group members, the group norms that develop in them can also be detrimental to the common good. Street gangs provide a clear example of social structures serving members' interests, but threatening the peace and safety of communities. Thus, the normative content of the social structures, beyond ensuring the group's interests, is a crucial consideration. Desirable educational norms cannot be expected to grow naturally out of structures with closure and continuity. In fact, the reverse may well be true.

Research Questions

This investigation seeks to describe social capital in six high schools and to compare its naturally occurring and intentionally created forms. Four major research questions guide the study:

1. In what ways did the sampled schools differ in their prevailing norms?

2. To what extent did the schools, i.e., administrators and teachers, attempt to develop and preserve a normative system supportive of students and their learning?

3. What structures did the schools use to provide students with social capital? To what extent are closure and continuity properties of these structures?

4. To what extent were social relations and relational networks a source of social capital for students? Were these naturally occurring or intentionally developed?

Method

Sample

Six schools were selected for the study based on their match with several criteria. These included: (1) exemplifying characteristics of social capital; (2) serving large proportions of students at risk of academic failure; and (3) accommodating a maximum variation sampling strategy that included selecting schools with voluntary and assigned membership. (See Lee and Croninger, 1998, for complete details on the selection process.) The sample includes three regular public high schools -- Calvin Coolidge, Zachary Taylor, and Woodrow Wilson -- where pupil assignment is based on residence; and three schools of choice -- Andrew Jackson, Cardinal McGuire, and St. Francis Assisi. The three regular public schools in the sample are comprehensive high schools; the three schools of choice are college preparatory. While the regular public schools are open to all comers within their residential areas, the schools of choice attract a clientele that specifically seeks what the school offers -- a mission focused on solid academics enveloped in a normative system that supports the mission and makes the school distinctive.

Regular public high schools. *Calvin Coolidge* is a small rural high school serving 275 students, all of whom are White. Occupying one wing of a K-12 school complex, Calvin Coolidge serves a lower-middle to middle class student population, who, for the most part, have attended school together in the same building since kindergarten. Close to half the students are eligible for federal lunch

subsidies. Calvin Coolidge counts among its successes a low drop-out rate and a sophisticated program in computer technology. The school enjoys the support of its community, most of whom are graduates of the high school.

Zachary Taylor High School is an inner city public school enrolling 2300 students, close to 70 percent of whom are minorities. More than half the student population receive free or reduced lunch. Having fallen precipitously from its prominence as a successful high school serving lower middle class ethnic communities, Zachary Taylor was reconstituted in 1994. Restructured into schools-within-a-school, Zachary Taylor features a ninth grade transition academy (later formed into two transition academies) and four upper-level career academies. Despite its being restructured, low achievement, chronic absenteeism, and high drop out rates continue to beset Zachary Taylor.

Serving an inner-city neighborhood in transition, *Woodrow Wilson High School* enrolls close to 1200 students, 92 percent of whom are minorities. Almost half the students come from non-English speaking families, and over 85 percent of them are eligible for free and reduced lunch. Woodrow Wilson has invested in two school restructuring initiatives, well-known for their intellectual focus. The school boasts a highly committed faculty who are invested in ongoing professional development. The low reading achievement of its students in recent years is the subject of current school improvement efforts.

Schools of choice. *Andrew Jackson High School*, an alternative high school in a small midwestern city, enrolls 400 mostly middle and upper-middle class students, 15 percent of whom are minorities. Because the school is well-regarded and popular in the community, admission is determined by lottery. About 200 students from the city's other two larger and comprehensive high schools take courses at Andrew Jackson. The school is well known for high student achievement and an innovative program of community based courses, including the option to take courses at a nearby university, area community colleges, and the other local high schools.

A suburban high school serving a working class and largely minority clientele, *Cardinal McGuire High School* is traditional in its curriculum and organization.. Formerly a boys' school, McGuire merged with a nearby girls' school to form a coeducational entity enrolling close to 700 students. Charging a comparatively large tuition of close to $5,000, the school sends its graduates off to good colleges -- a reputation that is making admission increasingly competitive. Although Cardinal McGuire is Catholic and sponsored by a religious order, about half its student population is non-Catholic.

St. Francis Assisi High School is an inner-city Catholic school enrolling 365 students, all of whom are Black and mostly from working- or middle-class families. Although the school is Catholic with obligatory religion classes and religious services, 90 percent of the students are non-Catholic -- although, for the most part, Christian. Its curriculum and order of the school day are traditional. Well-known throughout its state as an athletic powerhouse, St. Francis Assisi sends over 80 percent of its graduates to four-year colleges and 12 percent to two-year colleges.

Data. The data were collected by teams of researchers who spent two weeks in each school, usually a week in the fall and a week in the spring. While on site, the researchers observed classes and interactions in the hallways and cafeteria, attended school meetings and events, and interviewed students, their parents, teachers and administrators. Some interviews were conducted with individuals, others with focus groups. All initial round interviews followed the same open-ended protocol. Interviews in the spring tended to vary by school depending on the objectives of the research team. All interviews were transcribed, usually by professionals, and then thematically coded by the researchers. School administrators also completed questionnaires about the school and provided the researchers with various forms of documentation, including archival records and standardized test scores. Based on the data collected at each school, each research team prepared a case study (about 100 single-spaced pages) that followed a common outline. The set of six case studies provide the basis for this analysis.

Analytic approach. The analysis took an iterative form that entailed, initially, reading each case study at least two or three times. The purpose of the initial readings was to analyze the content of the cases, a process that included identifying patterns and themes (Patton 1990). Based on the initial review of the case study data and knowledge of social capital theory, I prepared a general set of descriptive questions to assist in organizing the data. Using a word processing program, I extracted data pertinent to these questions. This process of classifying the data, as Merriam (1988) points out, also begins to interpret the data. The next step was to "theorize" the data. To do this, I worked dialectically between the distilled case material and social capital theory to achieve a fuller understanding of the implications of the data and even to develop hypotheses about the data (Kvale 1995; Merriam 1988). Based on the process of theorizing, I developed a scheme for coding the data. I then categorized the coded data, and I developed and refined matrices to facilititate a cross-case analysis (Miles and Huberman 1984).

Results

Prevailing Norms at the Six High Schools

No need to lock the lockers at Calvin Coolidge. Calvin Coolidge High School is an exemplar of naturally occurring social capital in the forms of primordial social organization, intergenerational closure, and a normative system imposing the informal sanctions of gossip and the potential loss of reputation. Coolidge reflects the rural community in which is nestled -- bland, good-natured, and unpretentious (Figure 1). The school prizes order, predictability, and participation in sports. Attesting to the strong norms of respect for property and privacy, lockers at Coolidge have no locks. Many veteran Coolidge teachers taught the parents of their present students and see them regularly at the market, in local civic associations, and in church. Perhaps because of their closeness to the parents,

Coolidge teachers maintain a "professional distance" from the students, rarely entertaining discussions of a personal nature. For their part, students tend to like their teachers, but they distrust them as confidants fearing that personal disclosures will "get out." Students say they look to each other for advice, assistance, and support.

Restoration of order at Zachary Taylor. Prior to its reconstitution, Zachary Taylor High School, the largest school in the study, was known as a "school out of control." When students went to school, it was to "hang out" with peers. Teaching and learning were futile efforts. Faculty from a local university provided guidance for the reconstitution and recommended the school-within-a-school academy structure. An interdisciplinary 9th grade transition academy was intended to socialize incoming students into meeting the high school's learning expectations. Career-oriented academies, also interdisciplinary, were designed to provide focus and relevance to the curriculum for students in grades 10-12. Despite the changes, Taylor still struggles to assert academically-oriented norms in the face of the "norms of the street" that students bring with them into school. While not with the same frequency as in pre-reconstitution days, students continue to roam the halls during class time. As if to summon students to break through the palpable purposelessness that surrounds them, digital message boards hang from the hallway ceilings flashing red alerts -- "Study hard." "Stay on track." "Keep motivated." "Strive for success."

A pervasive sense of purpose at Woodrow Wilson. The enthusiasm for learning among students at Woodrow Wilson belies stereotypes of the urban high school as an intellectual wasteland. Wilson students participate in weekly Socratic seminars with considerable sophistication. Parents are frequent visitors to the school and the principal admits to spending close to three-fourths of her time on the phone with them. Deeply steeped in two national school reform programs, teachers at Wilson -- the majority of whom have worked together for several years -- engage in ongoing professional development in the form of retreats and in-house activities (such as Critical Friends Groups) aimed at

instructional improvement. Like their teachers, students work together collaboratively and seem to learn from and enjoy the cultural diversity in which they are immersed. Relations between students and teachers are good. Teachers listen to students' personal struggles, but they also have forged strong intellectual bonds with them. Although Wilson has its problems with student absenteeism and is not entirely free of student conflict, the administration and staff work to keep these problems in check and to deal with them effectively should they flare up.

Democratic egalitarianism at Andrew Jackson. Founded as an alternative school for creative, sometimes off-beat students who would probably fare poorly in the local comprehensive high schools yet thrive in a counter-cultural environment, Andrew Jackson currently admits students by lottery. Until a few years ago when the practice was discontinued because it was thought to advantage unfairly families with greater resources, students and their parents would spell each other for as long as two solid weeks of waiting in line to gain admission to Jackson on a first-come, first-serve basis. While Jackson might strike a visitor as an informal and freewheeling place, its students typically score among the highest in the state on standardized tests and gain admission to highly selective colleges and universities. Featured in a national publication as one of the country's "cool high schools," Jackson's students are involved in governance, serving on all major school committees. Students and faculty have close relationships. While individualism and diversity are prized at Jackson, cooperation and collaboration among students are also normative. Students help each other succeed. A large easel pad is a constant hallway fixture, collecting items for discussion at the monthly town meetings where students and teachers participate in face-to-face discussions of issues. All members of the school community know each other by name.

Being part of the community at Cardinal McGuire. Although Cardinal McGuire High School aspires to be a family, the school is bureaucratically organized. Its structure includes a president, a principal, two assistant principals, two deans, several directors (including a director and

assistant director of discipline), a discipline board, a board of directors, and department chairs. The curriculum and the daily schedule are traditional in form. Getting along and being involved are expectations at McGuire. Sponsored by a religious order, the school engages students, teachers, and parents in community service on a regular basis. McGuire encourages its students to participate in some of the nineteen sports teams and forty extracurricular activities that the school supports. Teachers encourage students to become engaged in the life of the school, socially as well as academically. They convey to students that *everything* they do at school, whether in the classroom or in a less structured setting, is important to their growth and development as individuals. Currently enrolling lower-income students who hope to gain admission and scholarships to good colleges, McGuire plans to widen its applicant pool to beyond the surrounding neighborhoods and to become a more selective school. A corps of young teachers who are graduates of a university operated by the sponsoring order and who teach at McGuire for two or three years as an act of community service freshens a largely veteran faculty.

An oasis of order and calm -- St. Francis Assisi. Located in an inner city neighborhood where gunshots, drug-dealing, and car thefts are not unusual, St. Francis of Assisi is a college preparatory high school with a storied athletic tradition. The gleaming glass front doors are unlocked all day and there are no metal detectors. The interior of the school is rather spartan, but the few artifacts send a clear message: Class pictures honor recent graduates; banners and historical photographs affirm the school's religious and African American identities; a trophy case acknowledges the school's athletic tradition; and a mural proclaims the values of the St. Francis family. The students, who are mostly middle class, wear uniforms -- khaki slacks or skirts, blue oxford shirts, and ties for the boys. St. Francis is not a selective school. Although most of the students it enrolls score low on standardized achievement tests, almost all of them go on to four-year colleges. Students are pleasant and respectful to each other, but they tend to refer to their peers as "associates" rather than friends,

perhaps reflecting neighborhood-based rather than school-based friendships. Almost always parents, students, or visitors to the school are in the office waiting to see the principal. Part of St. Francis for three decades, having risen to her present position from her initial job as a secretary, the principal is unassuming, but a formidable moral leader. The school operates on a shoe-string budget and struggles to retain its teachers -- many of whom leave when higher-paying public school jobs open up. While the school almost always has one or more teaching positions to fill, a stable core of veteran teachers and coaches anchors the staff.

Summary. Compared with the other two regular public schools, Calvin Coolidge has experienced no turbulence in its external environment. Most of the students have known their classmates and their classmates' families since kindergarten, and many of their teachers taught their parents. Diametrically opposed in terms of community stability, Zachary Taylor reflects the fragmented and low-structure neighborhoods from which the school draws its students. Taylor struggles with low faculty cohesion and dispirited teacher morale. Woodrow Wilson enrolls an increasingly multicultural and linguistically diverse clientele. Its faculty are committed to implementing school reform, improving their practice, and involving students' parents in their education.

The schools of choice differ in their educational philosophies and in the students they enroll. Andrew Jackson is a high achieving school that attracts individualistic students seeking an open and democratic learning environment. Its veteran teachers maintain close and informal relationships with students. Cardinal McGuire, a traditionally organized Catholic School enrolling a largely African American and Filipino population, is in the process of redefining itself to more faithfully reflect the values and ideals of its sponsoring religious order. While faculty change is a constant at St. Francis Assisi, the long-serving principal manages to maintain a staff committed to serving the educationally disadvantaged students the school enrolls.

Developing and Preserving a Normative System to Support Students and Their Learning

Community norms at Calvin Coolidge. Because a normative system is deeply embedded in the intergenerational closure characterizing Calvin Coolidge High, the norms of the community are the norms of the high school. Should anyone at the school deviate from these norms in a serious or threatening way, parents or the vigilant board of education will intervene almost immediately. When a young female athlete complained to her mother about the language a new coach (an out-of-towner) was tolerating on the team bus, for example, the mother called another parent to decide how they would handle the problem -- whether to confront the teacher directly or go to the school board. (They chose the former course of action.) Faculty colleagues and parents keep a close eye on new teachers to determine whether they "are Coolidge." During the research team's first visit to Coolidge, a newly hired teacher was irritating his colleagues by not responding to their greetings when they passed in the school hallways. By the research team's return visit four months later, that teacher had been eased out through pressure on the administration from parents who found reason to complain about the quality of his teaching.

As the community's representative adults in the school, Coolidge teachers know what is expected of them and they go about their duties in what they judge to be a professional way. They tend to keep to themselves, arriving at school fifteen minutes before the first bell and leaving school shortly after dismissal. Faculty meetings rarely occur, although a ten minute meeting before school is scheduled once each month. While Coolidge teachers say they would help each other out if asked, they take pride in their self-sufficiency and rarely collaborate.

Street norms vs school norms at Zachary Taylor. The catchment area surrounding Zachary Taylor High School lacks the social structure and stability of the old ethnic neighborhoods that are now largely gone. Many students and their families share in the pathologies characteristic of impoverished areas unsupported by the regular rhythms of work and gainful employment (Wilson 1996). Because

relations between the school and parents are very weak -- if not hostile and distrusting -- the school struggles futilely to maintain a minimum standard of positive behavioral and educational norms. The struggle is especially intense in the transition academy where the 9th graders who don't adapt to high school are, in the words of their teachers, "lost to the streets." Teachers in the transition academy recount their efforts to keep the streets out of the classroom and to achieve basic norms of civility. As one of them reported:

> There are some of the kids that if I can get them to have a kind of real human interaction with me and talk to me like a person and follow my instructions and not talk back to me, I consider that an accomplishment.

Her colleague reports less success:

> Finally we come to a very nice truce. They sit and do nothing. I don't bug them and they don't bug me, and they don't become problems and they can get their failure, and then go on with their life.

Teachers at Taylor complain about the lack of leadership at the school and the lack of a comprehensive vision. Because teachers lack such a shared vision, they find themselves in constant conflict with each other about normative expectations, and academic standards and their enforcement. Teachers are critical of each other. Tenth grade teachers blame their transition academy colleagues for the problems they have with discipline. Some teachers criticize others for not enforcing rules; others are critical of their colleagues' inflexibility. Although structures exist to promote coordination across academies, little communication occurs. Faculty morale is low, reflected in the high daily teacher absence rate of 15 percent.

Setting the tone for academics at Woodrow Wilson. Woodrow Wilson High School maintains strong social and academic norms through the culture established by a respected

administrator who had taught at Wilson for 14 years and a cohesive faculty who are united around a tightly focused school mission and a specific curricular approach. Through their collaborative efforts, the staff at Wilson have developed close relationships with parents; a system of daily advisories (times when students receive informational updates and discuss school matters and other issues with their teacher and peers); and weekly socratic seminars into which students are socialized as active participants. Wilson teachers have common meeting times built into their day for collaborative planning and activity. Highly committed to the ideals of Wilson, the teachers regard themselves as learners and relate to each other and their students with considerable professional openness. Because Wilson teachers have all undergone conflict resolution training, they have a repertoire of useful interpersonal skills along those lines that they pass on to students. Older students who are peer mentors socialize new students into the normative system. Mentors check in with their mentees at least once a day and they keep in close touch with their academic progress.

Clarifying expectations at Andrew Jackson. Induction into the normative system at the schools of choice begins early. Prior to enrolling at Andrew Jackson High School, students sign an agreement agreeing to abide by the school's behavioral code and standards. At the beginning of the school year, Andrew Jackson seniors conduct a convocation in the church across the street from the high school to inform the new students of what is expected of them as members of the school community. Students and staff review the rules and regulations that are part of the school and they tell the students about the school's traditions, including openness to new ideas, beliefs, and practices.

In an ongoing way, older students will remind younger students about proper behavior. A teacher explained: "Even in the classroom, you know, if a younger kid persists in talking or being rude or something, it's not unusual for an older student to say, 'That's not what we do in class. Listen." Discipline at Jackson does not take the form of detentions or in-school suspensions; rather, since bad behavior detracts from the community, students-in-violation are given some task to do to contribute to

the common good. The ultimate sanction at Jackson is reassignment to one of the city's comprehensive high schools.

Reflecting the school's commitment to individual diversity, teachers at Jackson have considerable latitude in terms of what and how they teach. Because this control rests with teachers, pedagogical experimentation is a matter of course. Teachers regard themselves as learners, and they mutually share in the quest of inquiry with their students. They may use their lunch hour for individual tutoring or to conduct classes to provide students with extra help. Teachers have quite a bit of non-school contact with their students in social or leisure contexts, such as concerts, movies, camping and hiking. In the democratic spirit characteristic of Jackson, teachers have a non-bureaucratic preference, preferring to talk things out rather than rely on systematized procedures. Teacher turnover at Jackson is low. Most of them live in the area and they run into each other outside of school. While the teachers don't see eye to eye on all school matters, they do consider themselves a family.

Learning to be a student at Cardinal McGuire High School. When students are admitted to Cardinal McGuire High School, they and their parents must sign a statement acknowledging that they have read the school handbook and agenda and that they agree to accept the terms the documents lay out. At the beginning of the school year, new students participate in a retreat conducted by older students who are peer ministers. The object of the retreat is to help the students to get to know one another, to learn what the school expects of them, and to find out where they can get help. Each 9th grade student is assigned a peer minister as a "buddy" for the year. On a regular basis for the entire school year, the peer ministers go into selected classes and conduct discussions on issues of social and academic adjustment. As part of their socialization, new students at McGuire are taught how to conduct themselves appropriately -- "How do you sit still, how do you talk to the person next to you, how do you address your teacher, how do you walk into the classroom, how do you get homework done." As an English teacher put it, "Forget this diagramming sentences. I mean that's nice, but at the freshman

level it's more, 'What is expected of you when you walk down the hall at this school? How loud do you talk?'" While teachers are in agreement on standards for student behavior, the administration was working to achieve consistency in when disciplinary action needed to be taken and what the consequences for particular offenses ought to be.

Teachers who are new to McGuire must also sign an agreement to abide by the teachers' code of conduct -- an extensive set of standards that govern their interactions both with their teaching colleagues and with students. Teachers, according to the code, must support each other, heal and forgive each other's failings, be sensitive to each other's needs, foster professionalism among their colleagues, and accept their responsibility to be role models. They must also agree to meet with students personally and listen to their concerns; help students in their academic and social development; make the school and its classrooms just and fair. The president of the school is committed to leading McGuire to a new and cohesive school vision, a task that has already entailed making personnel changes.

Family values at St. Francis Assisi High School. "Remember, you are a member of the St. Francis Assisi family, 24 hours a day, 7 days a week, 365 days a year," so says the principal of St. Francis Assisi High School at the opening liturgy of the school year. She repeats the refrain regularly; students refer to it as the "24-7-365." While students at St. Francis Assisi do not sign an agreement to abide by the school's code of conduct, they know they must meet that standard and the school's academic standards as well if they are to remain "in the St. Francis Assisi family." Student retreats and other rituals reinforce the family virtues of mutual respect, caring, cooperation, and unity. The principal is the enforcer-in-chief. When she walks through the halls between classes, boys tighten up their ties and tuck in their shirts. If she sees a student being disruptive or even inattentive in class as she passes by an open door, she will go into that classroom and call the student to task. Should a

serious incident occur involving student misbehavior, she will deliver a schoolwide reprimand via the intercom or call an inpromptu assembly.

To be hired at St. Francis Assisi, teachers must agree to stay after school two afternoons a week for a minimum of an hour to provide tutorials for students who need extra help. Teachers are also told that their attendance is expected at both the boys' and girls' sports events. Despite being unanimous in their respect and support for the principal, the teachers had relatively weak collegial bonds among themselves. Because teachers were divided on the relative importance of providing students with personal support and making rigorous academic demands, students tended to be slow in getting down to business, usually needing external prodding. Without exception, the teachers expressed strong appreciation for the parental support they experience. If students slack off on doing their homework or are disruptive in class, a phone call to their parents will turn the situation around. St. Francis Assisi has an open door policy for parents. They are welcome to visit the school and its classes at any time and are encouraged to do this at least twice during each semester.

Summary. Each of the three regular public schools attempts to develop and preserve a positive normative environment, but how they do it and the success they achieve are uneven. At Calvin Coolidge, parents are diligent in seeing to the maintenance of community norms at the high school. Zachary Taylor administrators and teachers try to keep the norms of the street out of the high school, but because they have not succeeded in involving the parents in that effort, the school has met with limited success. Woodrow Wilson High School achieves an academically-oriented culture through the collaborative efforts of its principal, teachers, and parents.

The schools of choice are most aggressive in their efforts to ensure commitments to their norms and values. Teachers at all three of the choice schools are in regular contact with their students' parents. Andrew Jackson and Cardinal McGuire require the students they enroll to sign contracts in which they promise to abide by the school code of conduct and uphold the values of the school. Both

schools engage older students in socializing the newcomers. Teachers at Cardinal McGuire must also sign agreements in which they pledge to be involved with the school, each other, and the students in very specific ways. At St. Francis Assisi teachers commit themselves verbally to after-school tutorials, class prayer, and attendance at students' sports events as a condition of hire. Students know they have an identity to live by -- "24-7-365" -- if they are to retain their membership in the St. Francis Assisi family.

Social Structures: Closure and Continuity

Constantly face-to-face at Calvin Coolidge. Calvin Coolidge High School operates with minimal formal structure (Figure 2). The school has no homerooms or curricular departments. Because the school is a close functional community with naturally occurring relational networks, administrators and teachers find no need for formal organizational structures. The faculty see each other constantly, conduct routine business in passing, and very rarely have to meet as a group. The principal conducts most business he has with teachers informally between classes. Outside of class, students and teachers pass each other in the hallways throughout the day, but cross status conversations are infrequent. Among themselves, students have long-established friendship groups (formed early in kindergarten, according to the counselor) that are reinforced through sports teams and band, and for some, through Future Farmers of America (FFA) or Future Homemakers of America (FHA) as well.

Interdisciplinary teaching teams at Zachary Taylor. The situation at Zachary Taylor stands in stark opposition to Coolidge. Without social structures to bring them together, students and teachers at Zachary Taylor could easily move about in near anonymity. In the chaotic days before reconstitution, students were often unknown by the adults on staff, and the adults were largely strangers to each other. Hostilities smoldered among students and between students and staff, sometimes erupting into angry and even violent exchanges. To eradicate that disastrous pattern, the transition and

career academies were designed to provide students with a structure of closure -- specifically, the interdisciplinary team of adults responsible for their instruction. Most teachers hold coach classes regularly for students in need of extra help. The transition academy experience lasts just one year, but continuity is a characteristic of the upper-grade, 10-12, career academies. To enable the teaching teams to focus collectively on student learning, they are provided 90 minutes of common planning time daily. A 15 minute homeroom period is also part of each school day, but the time is too short to permit anything but perfunctory exchanges between teachers and students. Despite having many sports teams, Taylor has few clubs and no programs geared to music, dance, or art. Faculty turnover is high, and the student mobility rate is 50 percent.

Structures supporting teachers and students at Woodrow Wilson. The primary social structures with closure and continuity at Woodrow Wilson High School are the curricular units to which students belong - for example, the seminar program, ESL/LEP, special education, or general enrollment. While teachers work collaboratively across units on schoolwide efforts, such as improving student reading levels, teachers are particularly cohesive within the curricular units. Within these units, students participate in daily advisory group meetings. Students benefit from the social structures that support their teachers' ongoing professional development -- Critical Friends Groups, Wednesday common planning time, the Freshman Team and the faculty retreats. An attendance network -- made up of attendance officers and a student's teachers, counselor, and parent -- is a structure with closure that keeps students at school.

Formal structures meet individual needs at Andrew Jackson. Despite its informality and preference for counter-culture norms, Andrew Jackson High School is richly organized to provide students with social support. First in importance among these structures are the forums -- advisory groups of 20 multi-age students and an adult leader who stay together for four years. Serving as Jackson's ongoing guidance program, the forums provide each student with continual adult contact,

monitoring, counseling, and peer support over the high school years. Students choose the type and style of forum leader they would prefer when they first enter Jackson. Known as students' "moms at school," the forum leaders see students' interim and quarterly report cards. Some forum leaders make home visits, but all of them keep in touch with their students' parents. The forums meet twice weekly for 95 minutes and the members determine what the focus of the sessions will be -- for example, local or national issues, students' academic or social problems. Some forums have regular movie nights at the leader's or a student's home. Forum leaders sometimes invite students to concerts, plays, or to dinner. As one teacher remarked:

> There's really no invisible student because we have 18-20 kids in our Forum that we know very well and we see them several times a week and constantly informally. And so each student knows there's someone to advocate for him or her. So if a kid in my forum gets a probationary letter from the assistant dean, I will be there at the meeting with that student, trying to make a plan for that kid to be more successful.

During times of crisis or special need, Andrew Jackson's CARE Team assists students. Made up of the school social worker, school guidance counselors, and the assistant dean, the CARE team meets daily. Teachers may bring concerns they are having about a student to the team. The team may send a "feeler form" around to other teachers, as well, asking them questions to determine whether they have noticed anything unusual about a particular student (e.g, sleeping in class or attitude changes). If the problem seems to be just between a student and a single teacher, the team tries to work it out between the two of them. If the problem is particularly extensive and/or serious, the team will seek outside professional help.

Since Andrew Jackson's classes are heterogeneously grouped, the variation in student abilities in a class can be vast. Students often help each other. A parent remarked to the research team, "At Jackson, if you get a C, somebody will come up to you and say, 'Would you like me to help you, so that you can get an A next time?'" Students who need help will also find it at the Individual Learning Center staffed by learning resource aides and volunteers. All Jackson teachers have two 90 minute blocks free each day during which they meet with students to provide necessary assistance.

When students enroll at Andrew Jackson High School, their pre-enrollment agreement stipulates that they must participate in at least one Community Resource course during high school. The community resource course is a learning experience in the community (including courses at the local university and community colleges) that students take for credit under the supervision of a qualified adult. A team of 3.5 full-time district staff members is responsible for reviewing the proposed courses, a process that both ensures the credibility of the sponsoring adult and the validity of the experience for the student. About 300 partnerships are approved each year for students in the local district and the listing of them is published as the Community Resource Course Guide. The Community Resource courses enable students to form relationships with community members whose interests they also share – in a multitude of areas, including art, music, number theory, astronomy, cooking, video production, architecture, creative writing, Chinese culture and Native American culture.

Low structure environments at Cardinal McGuire and St. Francis Assisi. Neither of the Catholic schools has set up formal structures to provide students with social support. Catholic schools may consider their religion classes as serving this function. Additionally, in the Catholic setting, powerful norms of caring and compassion might render superfluous structures to designed to deliver these relationships in a formalized way. However, both catholic schools have academic safety nets to assist students whose grades are unsatisfactory. Cardinal McGuire students enter academic probation when they hold 3 failures or a GPA in the 1.5-1.8 range (depending on the student's grade level). Once

identified, these students must meet with the principal who explains the seriousness of their situation and the possible consequences, if the student does not improve academically. The student is then matched up with tutors and his or her work is carefully monitored through weekly progress reports. Students on academic probation must also meet regularly with the counselor. At St. Francis, the academic safety net comes into play sooner. A student who falls below a C in any subject is subject to the intervention strategy, which includes a collaborative effort, including conferences, between the student, the student's parents, the teacher, the principal, and the counselor; participation in after-school tutorials with the subject teacher twice weekly; and a weekly report from the teacher to the parents, principal, and counselor.

Summary. The schools' dependence on formal organizational structures to support students and uphold the normative environments they wish to achieve varies markedly. Because of the naturally occurring relational networks at Calvin Coolidge, formal organizational structures are virtually non-existent. At Zachary Taylor, the academy structure with the interdisciplinary teaching teams assigned responsibility for students is the basic structural innovation. Coach classes provide extra help for students who need it. The involvement of Woodrow Wilson teachers in various structures -- Critical Friends Groups, Freshman Teams, interdisciplinary planning groups -- ultimately redounds to students. In addition to their membership in curricular programs, Wilson students participate in two structural units -- daily advisories and weekly seminars.

Despite its informality, Andrew Jackson has the most elaborate set of formal organizational structures designed to support students and the Jackson normative system. Students belong to the same advisory for four years, a system involving them in a close relationship with a mentoring adult and peer counselors. The CARE Team, the Individual Learning Center, the Community Resource program, and the monthly town meeting are additional structures supporting the students. At the Catholic schools, rituals, retreats, and traditions reinforce the normative culture. At Cardinal McGuire, in particular,

religion classes serve as locations for students to discuss social and personal issues. Religion classes at St. Francis vary in teachers' openness to discussions of student concerns, but students seemed able to count on the willingness of at least some teachers in other subject areas to let them digress on issues they considered important.

Social Relations and Relational Networks as a Source of Social Capital

Downplaying social capital Calvin Coolidge. Strangely, the social capital that occurred naturally in the community surrounding Calvin Coolidge High School tended to be "cooled out" or even "turned off" entirely at school or in school-related areas. Parent non-involvement is the official school policy in effect at Coolidge. Because parents are so powerful a force, the administration wants to keep them away from the school. Rather than enlist parent volunteers – as reading aides for the elementary school students, for example – the school recruits student volunteers. Even though parents and teachers are on familiar terms, parents are not likely to be alerted to a child's having problems with schoolwork until a formal report is sent home at the official time. When parents and teachers meet at social settings, teachers are open to a school-related comment or two, but they typically try to steer the conversation away from school matters. Relationships between teachers and students are not personally close. Students are slow to confide in their teachers on a personal level. If they were to go to a teacher with a problem, the teacher would be likely to send the student to the counselor. Norms of privacy and professionalism seemed to take priority over the norms of personalism.

Relational variation at Zachary Taylor. Relationships among students at Zachary Taylor High School differ for 9th grade and upper grades students. The 9th graders did not identify positively with their transition academies nor with their teachers. For their part, the 9th grade teachers felt they had the most discipline problems, the least space to work with, and the biggest classes. The 9th grade students felt "looked down on" by the older students, but they did not form bonds of friendships even

among themselves. They described their relationships with peers as conflictual and spoke of "in-groups" and "out-groups" among their classmates. Among the upper-grade career academies, inter-group competition is strong. Within the academies, students think of each other as "family" and tend to help each other succeed. Teachers know their students by name and the students feel their teachers care about them. Upper-grade students may turn to teachers for help because they work closely with them in the academy context. Among the teachers themselves collegial relations vary with the academies. Relationships with colleagues in the same academy are far stronger than with colleagues in other academies. Despite structures to facilitate faculty exchange and conversation across academies, inter-academy communication among teachers is weak.

Affiliation and support at Woodrow Wilson. Relationships at Woodrow Wilson High School – among teachers, among students, and between teachers and students – appear to be supportive and uplifting. Teachers see themselves as learners as well as teachers, a conception that grounds their ongoing inquiry into good practice. In addition, teachers see themselves as collectively engaged in a common endeavor on behalf of their students, helping them to learn and develop as people. Students reported teachers intervening in their lives when academic or social matters occasioned the need for help. When a male student acted inappropriately toward a female student in the hallway during change of classes, the research team noted, a teacher called the young man aside and respectfully, but firmly, pointed out the problem, but also offered the student some guidance. Putting his arm around the young man's shoulder, the teacher asked, "Why are you mauling her? Is that how you talk to a young lady? Say 'Hi. How are you?' Don't maul her."

In a classroom when a young woman began to cry while reporting for her cooperative group in English class, another student came up and led her to her seat. Without speaking, a second student took the paper from which she had been reading out of her hand and finished reading it, while a third

student sat with her hand around the shoulder of the young woman who was crying, and still another touched her on the arm in a gesture of support.

The research team spoke with the teacher about the incident and learned that someone close to the young woman had recently been shot. Others at school were aware of the incident and wanted to help her. The researchers reflected on the incident:

> The help the students gave the young woman seemed immediate and automatic and easy, leading us to hypothesize that this example of student helping is not an isolated incident. Would students have felt as free to act as they did anywhere in any school? We think the answer may be no. We suppose that many things contributed to the scenario we have just described – parents, the larger community, and certainly the students themselves. We also wonder, though, about the contribution of a school environment that builds helping each other into its structure and philosophy.

Natural relational bonds at Andrew Jackson. At Andrew Jackson students and teachers view each other as people first, not as occupants of roles. The egalitarian nature of relationships at Andrew Jackson High School is reflected in the informality of relationships between teachers and students. Students call teachers by their first names, for example. They walk freely into the teachers' lunchroom to talk about school work or personal matters. Generally, the students view the teachers as friends and colleagues, not as authority figures. The level of trust between students and teachers is quite high. Students talk to teachers about such personal matters as drugs, sex, and relations with family and friends. Relationships at Andrew Jackson tend to develop naturally – "It's just the camaraderie that happens," according to one teacher -- the affinity, perhaps, between teachers and students who are attracted to the same kind of school. Another teacher commented:

> These aren't systematized processes. It's people moving around the building dealing with kids

and talking about this and that and it's the third time that John and I have met on that issue today. And it's not like having a meeting in the office with the secretary and the appointment book – it's these people having easy access to each other... and that's so neat.

The Dean of Andrew Jackson High School characterized teacher-student relations there as familial:

> They like each other. Even teachers who are really, really fed up with a kid. They're fed up with that kid the way a parent is fed up with that kid. 'I'm sick and tired of this and you're going to do ...' It's not that you don't like them anymore, you just want them to shape up and do right. And there's a lot of that and it works. And I think it's because the kids and the parents – they just know that they like them.

Building community at Cardinal McGuire. If interactions in the hallways between classes is a good indicator, teachers and students at Cardinal McGuire relate to each other easily and informally. These relationships reflect the "sense of community" the school strives to achieve. Teachers greet students by name, as do the school's president and principal. Students freely initiate conversations with teachers and members of the administration. They chat on academic and non-academic matters. Teachers say they expect the best from the students at all times, but they temper their expectations with understanding. Teachers deal with behavioral problems in a corrective rather than a punitive way. Teachers vary in their willingness to help, according to the students; some hold special study sessions and are always ready to listen. Other teachers provide extra help only when students ask. Students commented on their religion classes as places where they could discuss personal issues with peers and adults and, in so doing, form and reinforce bonds of friendship.

Relationships among adults appear to be congenial overall. While some groups stood out -- the volunteer teachers from the religious order's college; the younger, newly hired teachers; the older teachers who remained from the days when McGuire was a boys' school; and the contingent of teachers who came over from the girls' school that merged with McGuire – overall, the teachers presented a unified front. The virtues of tolerance and understanding that the faculty preach, as parents commented to the research team, they also seem to practice.

Forms of caring at St. Francis Assisi. Teachers at St. Francis Assisi are unanimous in their expressed commitment to their students, but their caring takes different forms. Some believe caring means stretching students intellectually; some believe it means a listening ear and a hug. Some teachers see themselves as confidants of students; others prefer to maintain a professional distance. However, all the students the research team interviewed identified at least one teacher they had talked to about personal matters. According to these students' descriptions, they confided in their teachers on many matters, some of them very serious. The students find their teachers receptive to listening and ready to give them advice, rarely objecting that the matters were beyond their competence to counsel.

Teacher interaction at St. Francis is weak. Within the bounds of the normative framework they share, the teachers seem to operate as independent rather than interdependent individuals. Each one referred to the principal in the interview, suggesting that they see themselves primarily connected in relationship to her rather than any of their colleagues. The principal is at the hub of the school and relational spokes connect the teachers to her rather than to each other. One of the new teachers, a mathematics teacher retired from the public schools, observed:

> I think the quality of the staff is very good. You know, they're all great people and everything. But I think everybody has their own little bailiwick and they're kind of – nobody's trying to protect anything, they're just trying to say, 'I've got to make ready to do all these things, so I'm just going to do it. I don't have the time.

The implication may be that the principal's expectation for the teachers availability to students through tutorials and their presence at games and other activities exhausts their disposable time, detracting from their willingness to spend time with their colleagues..

Summary. Because deep and longstanding relationships connect the teachers, students, and families at Calvin Coolidge, all parties tend to downplay these ties and, in so doing, to protect themselves from an oppressive intimacy that would intrude on their needs for privacy. Relationships at Zachary Taylor vary across units with the incoming students most at odds with each other and the older students in the school. Teachers have relational groups, but an overall identity as colleagues collectively engaged in the mission of Zachary Taylor is absent. Woodrow Wilson teachers interact warmly as professional colleagues who have also established bonds of friendship. Teachers interact with students in academically challenging and personally supportive ways, a pattern students mirror in their relationships with each other. Teachers and students at Andrew Jackson are unusually close -- like a family -- both in their formal and informal interactions at school and in the out-of-school relationships that many of them share. Supportive relationships among teachers and between teachers and students are a contractual expectation at Cardinal McGuire. St. Francis Assisi teachers seem divided on what caring means and what forms it should take, but all of them relate warmly to students and express a personal commitment to their success. Relationships among teachers are weak, but all are deeply committed to the principal.

Emerging Themes

Based on the analysis of the forms of social capital at the six high schools, several themes emerge to inform the concept of intentionally created social capital. The first four themes center primarily on school norms. The themes underscore the roles of the adult community (primarily teachers, administrators, and to differing degrees -- parents) in creating the norms; and the roles of the

entire community in maintaining them. The fifth theme focuses on the institutionalization of social capital when norms and social structures combine to form a school community.

Theme one: Unless high schools create a normative system supportive of students' academic and social development, and, unless the schools explicitly socialize students into that system, local extramural norms are likely to prevail. Students at Calvin Coolidge were touched by the wider youth culture, but strong local norms did not permit youth culture to dominate the students' daily lives. In fact, local community norms and school norms were so consonant, Coolidge did not have to assert a separate school culture.

Zachary Taylor told another story. Street norms tended to pervade the school, because the school offered little resistance -- specifically, the resistance of a strong normative system that would shape students' academic and social conduct. Zachary Taylor lacked a coherent and unifying vision; teachers did not act consistently in matters of discipline; and the school did little to involve parents as partners in accomplishing school goals.

Woodrow Wilson and the three schools of choice – Andrew Jackson, Cardinal McGuire, and St. Francis Assisi – all evidenced strong and distinctive normative systems into which they deliberately socialized their students. The entire community (administration, teachers, older peers) participated in the socialization, and the schools involved parents in supporting and enforcing school norms. Andrew Jackson and Cardinal McGuire required students to sign contracts in which they agreed to abide by the school's code of conduct. Cardinal McGuire very literally taught its 9th graders how to comport themselves appropriately in both academic and social realms. St. Francis Assisi promoted an ideal for students to identify with and conform to.

Theme two: Professional relationships among teachers when focused on carrying out a coherent educational vision will set and sustain the academic and social norms of the high school. The local

community largely controlled the normative environment at Calvin Coolidge, where teachers were of the community and approved by the community. Thus, unspoken community norms prevailed in the teachers' conduct of their professional roles. The homogeneous and deeply-rooted community context of Coolidge set that school apart from the others in the sample, schools where diversity, urbanicity, and environmental turbulence presented formidable challenges. At Zachary Taylor, the interdisciplinary teaming and the school-within-a-school structures placed teachers in functional relationships within their academic units, but neither their focus nor the school administrator's had extended to dealing with or resolving collectively the problems they all shared resulting from the school's inappropriate normative environment.

In sharp contrast, teachers at Woodrow Wilson, a regular public school in a neighborhood undergoing rapid social change, knew what they wanted to accomplish as a faculty and how they wanted to do it – that is, to promote student learning and growth through the combined school reform initiatives they had subscribed to for at least a decade. Committed to many forms of ongoing professional development and facilitated in that effort by a well-respected principal, they collaborated tirelessly to improve their practice and to meet the needs of the students they enrolled. Teachers at Andrew Jackson shared a similar commitment to the school's philosophy, program, and students. Not only did they work together, they enlisted all the stakeholders -- students, parents, and community -- in maintaining Jackson as a well-respected and educationally vibrant local institution.

At the Catholic schools, while the faculty certainly contributed to the normative environment of the school, they were less responsible for creating it. The religious ideology, incorporating concepts of community and respect for the individual, provides the governing belief system. At each of the Catholic schools, strong leaders decisively shape the school culture. Because the faculty are not unionized, the Catholic school administrator has considerable power. The principal at St. Francis hires individuals about whom she has positive feelings for their potential to contribute to the school. As a condition of

employment, a candidate for a teaching position had to agree to the principal's expectations – after-school tutorials and attendance at students' sports events. Teachers at Cardinal McGuire have to commit to a detailed code of conduct, covering personal and collegial behaviors as well as relationships with students. The president at McGuire has removed staff (i.e., reassigned or terminated them) from positions they held if she felt they were falling short of her expectations.

Theme three: To the extent that older peers socialize students into the normative system of the high school, incoming students will be more likely to internalize the norms and invest themselves in preserving them. Calvin Coolidge students transitioned naturally into high school along with their peers, their classmates from kindergarten days. Although high school would offer some new subjects and place them in a curricular track, for the most part, students found the culture of the high school familiar. While the socialization of incoming students into high school was not an issue at Coolidge, at Zachary Taylor it was a critical problem since students from the local middle schools arrived at Taylor unprepared for high school both socially and academically. As part of its reconstitution, Taylor initiated the transition academy as a formal structure designed to socialize the 9th grade students into high school. Unfortunately, the 9th grade students experienced little positive peer influence. They were isolated from the example of the older students, who seemed happier and better adjusted at Taylor.

At Wilson and two of the high schools of choice, older students were formally involved in socializing the younger students. Although the initiative was somewhat limited, Wilson sponsored two peer mentoring programs through which younger students had daily contact with a mentor from one of the upper classes who provided advice, encouragement, and academic assistance. Socialization by older peers happened by design at Andrew Jackson. Jackson seniors conducted the formal orientation of the incoming students, a time when they explained the rules, regulations, and traditions of the school. All students meet twice weekly in multi-age group sessions lasting 95 minutes -- the forums. In addition to

the socialization of new students through various formal programs, Jackson students take seriously the responsibility of ongoing informal socialization.

Cardinal McGuire enlists peer ministers to induct new students into the school through the orientation and freshman retreat process. Each new student has a peer minister who keeps in ongoing contact during the school year. The peer ministers visit religion classes in teams on a monthly basis to conduct discussions with the new students on academic and social issues. McGuire's extensive extracurricular program of sports and clubs sets the stage for cross-age relationships to form. Older students at St. Francis Assisi do not formally participate in socializing the new students. Unlike Cardinal McGuire where peer ministers have the role, teachers at St. Francis Assisi conduct the class retreats. What results at St. Francis is competition between classes and the need for the principal to be more of an enforcer of norms than she would have to be if older students were engaged in this process.

Theme four: The normative system of the school will be more influential to the student to the extent that the school engages parents in reinforcing it. Even though the school discourages parental participation at Coolidge High School (and in the lower grades as well), parents at Coolidge have exactly the type of schooling they want for their children. The school board advocates for parents' interests, but parents also group together to make their wishes known as the need arises. In cases of college selection, Coolidge teachers tend not to push students beyond where the parents would want them to be – usually a lower-tier nearby college or community college, rather than one of the major state universities or more prestigious private colleges.

Although parent involvement at Zachary Taylor has never been strong, according to the research team, the failure of the school to engage parents in their children's schooling seems to account for some of the problems the school has in establishing and enforcing norms. Parents see little reason to visit the school or talk to the teachers, however, unless they feel their child will benefit or they will be

assisted in understanding their child's school performance. Usually, from the parents' point of view, the interactions between teachers and parents are not substantive or useful. At Woodrow Wilson, parent involvement is strong. Parents visit the school, teachers contact parents regularly, and the principal reports spending most of her time with parents.

Similarly, at the schools of choice parents are very involved – although in both similar and in somewhat different ways. What these schools all have in common is close relationships between teachers and parents. At all three schools, teachers will telephone parents if students are having problems either academically or socially. Parents know the lines of communication are open. At Andrew Jackson parents also participate in governance, work on committees, and sometimes become involved in the Community Resource program. At McGuire parents are expected to contribute 10 hours of volunteer service at the school each year. Parents come to school to pick up their child's report card and confer with any of the teachers. About 150-200 parents regularly attend the meetings of the Parents Club. Strong parental concern for their child's success is a refrain at St. Francis Assisi, one that teachers voice unanimously. Because parents are encouraged to visit the school and its classrooms unannounced at any time, they feel the school is open and wants to be responsive. As at Cardinal McGuire, parents come to St. Francis Assisi to pick up their child's report card and meet with the teachers. The parent association encourages parents to voice their concerns about the school and to become involved in school projects.

Theme five: To the extent that the normative system of the high school is supported by structures of closure and continuity, social capital will be institutionalized as an organizational property of the school making the school a community. Calvin Coolidge demonstrates the unity between the normative system of the high school and the social structure of intergenerational closure. In fact, as suggested earlier, the natural social relations constitute such a powerful and available network, formal

organizational structures are superfluous. While Zachary Taylor High School has initiated structures with closure and continuity – the academy program and the interdisciplinary teaching teams -- the structures have limited effectiveness. Devoid of normative content, they are largely empty shells; thus they are insufficient to change the culture of the school. The structures are ineffective at the moral level because the school lacks a consistent normative system supportive of the school's educational mission.

At Woodrow Wilson, the most important structures of closure and continuity exist among the faculty. The teaching teams, the Wednesday planning groups, the Freshman team, the Critical Friends Groups unite the faculty structurally, embodying the normative commitments that they have espoused in their years of institutionalizing their school reform programs. While advisories, seminar groups, and peer mentorships exist for students and undoubtedly benefit them, the structures supporting the teachers are particularly important to shaping the quality of the school culture.

In terms of social capital by design, Andrew Jackson High School has achieved a seamless blend of the school normative system and the structures that support it. What Jackson is about is clear to students, who choose to attend the school because of its value system and programs. The signed agreement and the initial orientation symbolize students' commitment to the values and standards of Jackson, but the forum structure actualizes their meaning throughout the four years of high school. Consistent with Jackson's stand for democratic egalitarianism, the school follows a participatory governance model including student membership on all committees and a monthly all-school town meeting. Classes are heterogeneously grouped, but students receive extra help -- to the extent they need it -- from their peers, their teachers' tutoring sessions, and the Individual Learning Center. To further the school goal of encouraging individual differences and allowing them to flourish, the Community Resource program enables students to pursue their special interests in an academic

relationship with a local mentor. The CARE Team intervenes when students are experiencing personal or social difficulties.

The Catholic schools differ markedly in their organization. While Cardinal McGuire has a bureaucratic organizational form, the personalism and community orientation of the school diminish the negative aspects of its structure. Formal organization at St. Francis Assisi is minimal in much the same way as it is at Calvin Coolidge. Like Coolidge, St. Francis is small. The principal can communicate easily with teachers in the hallways or page them during their free periods. Religion classes in the Catholic schools may function as the church does in small communities, serving as places where the community affirms it values, receives spiritual guidance, and affirms its relationships with each other.

Viewing the Themes through the Lens of Theory

The norms of youth culture -- to the extent that the culture is represented by MTV, multimedia, street fads, and the antiheroes of professional sports -- are unlikely to correspond with the norms of school, especially if the school is making an effort to set high expectations for students to perform at the level called for by challenging curriculum and instruction. The typical urban or suburban high school enrolls a diverse student clientele. Because many of these students may not have internalized positive social or academic norms, and because they may be steeped in the norms of "youth culture" or of street society, an urban or suburban high school is likely to be challenged in accomplishing its academic and social mission (McQuillan 1998; Stanton-Salazar 1997; Steinberg 1998). While youth culture is ubiquitous, its influence is strongest where countervailing norms are weak. If students in these settings are to achieve the valued academic and social outcomes of schooling, then schools will need to establish a normative system that displaces norms counter to the purposes of the school.

A tension over control of the school and its classrooms typically exists between teachers and their students (Waller, 1932; Metz 1993). Much has been written about the bargain, the treaty, or the

unspoken agreement between students and teachers, whereby students agree to abide by classroom behavioral standards if teachers do not push them beyond what students judge to be acceptable limits (McNeil, 1986; Sizer 1985; Sedlak, Wheeler, Pullin and Cusick 1986). Students base their judgment about "acceptable limits" on what they perceive to be school norms, the academic and social competence of their teachers, and the value they attach to their education. (Metz 1993).

Because most teachers function individualistically as autonomous experts rather than collectively as interdependent professionals, most schools do not operate with a clear and cohesive vision of their mission and shared standards as to what counts for quality teaching and learning. Thus, schools lack coherent academic or intellectual norms. When strong professional community exists among teachers, however, school norms are clear and consistently enforced. Students grasp what their teachers are trying to accomplish and they understand they will be held to consistently high expectations in all of their classes (Marks, Doane, and Secada 1996).

When students enter high school, a confusing time for most adolescents, the teachers and the peer groups they encounter are likely to determine the smoothness of the transition (Entwistle 1993). If teachers are unified in their goals for student learning, the consistent message from adults will influence students in positive ways (Marks et al. 1996). When older peers demonstrate to younger incoming students their commitment to the values and expectations that teachers espouse and communicate, the message is amplified. Older peers serve simultaneously as agents of the institution and role models for younger students (Stanton-Salazar 1997). Yet such a commitment to school norms may require that the older students perceive themselves both as beneficiaries of the system and as empowered within it (McQuillan 1998).

When parents are involved in the school, when they take advantage of the resources the school offers to assist them in parenting or supporting the academic success of their child, parents let their child know they believe in the school and what it stands for (Steinberg 1998). Whether parents become

acquainted with other parents in the course of their children's schooling depends on any number of factors, including their own and other parents' mobility, their interest in developing relationships with the parents of their children's friends, the opportunity they have to do so, and the extent to which the school facilitates parental involvement and networking. When parents establish relationships with other parents and with teachers through their involvement, they become more familiar with the expectations of the school. They establish relationships they can draw upon if they need to. High school students whose parents attend school functions, programs, and conferences gain more from school than their peers whose parents are disengaged (Steinberg). When students perceive their parents' interest in their schooling, when parents offer educational support and guidance, students are less likely to be influenced in negative ways by their peers (Savin-Williams and Berendt 1993). Moreover, students say they want guidance and direction from their parents when it comes to their schooling (Savin-Williams and Berendt).

The fifth theme is largely a consequence of the other four. Selznick (1995) elaborated a theory of institutionalization, describing a process through which organizations become transformed into institutions and, ultimately, into communities. Institutionalization is reflected in "orderly, stable, *socially integrating* patterns" that emerge out of informal social structures, social interactions, shared values and commitments. For example, when a school moves from being an organization staffed by technicians hired to carry out a social function and becomes an institution, it has internalized values and norms that enrich its mission beyond task orientation. Institutionalization, according to Selznick, shapes groups and practices in a way analagous to socialization's shaping of individuals. In the process of institutionalizing norms and values, a cohesive unity of persons and communtarian organizational forms develop out of what would otherwise be an assemblage of technicians narrowly engaged in a task.

Discussion

This study attempted to describe social capital as it occurred in the schools and to demonstrate the relationships between school norms and social structures with closure and continuity. The findings suggest that where social capital is naturally occurring -- at Calvin Coolidge High School, for example -- the social structure of intergenerational closure enforces the community's and the school's norms, which are essentially the same. Coleman (1993) argued that creating social structures with closure and continuity, structures comparable to intergenerational closure, would generate social control in the form of beneficial norms and sanctions. As the failure of the social structures at Zachary Taylor suggest, however, schools need something more, namely, a set of shared values to infuse moral purpose into the structures (Bidwell 1988). While the evidence is not strong enough in itself to be conclusive, the findings at Taylor affirm what other research suggests - i.e., the importance of school cultural reform over structural change. Although structures can provide a useful support to the normative system of the school -- as the case of Andrew Jackson High School illustrated -- schools cannot rely on new structures themselves to improve their quality and performance (Newmann and Associates 1996; Marks, Doane, and Secada 1998).

The concept of volition and choice emerges as a significant factor in the formation of social capital (Lee and Croninger 1998). To assert itself as an object of a choice, a school must have a distinctive identity. To establish such an identity means embodying a set of values that will give meaning to the enterprise; articulating a mission that will attract students and their families; setting coherent and compelling goals; and building a record of accomplishment. Because the schools of choice had accomplished these essential tasks, they started with an advantage. They could enter into a compact with the students, parents -- even with their own teachers. The compact is reciprocal, requiring the commitment of the school to deliver on its promises and the commitment of the community to live up to

the standards of the school. If students and families feel the school is letting them down, they can leave and go elsewhere. If the school feels that the students and any other member of the community is not living up to their end of the bargain, they too can terminate the relationship. While Woodrow Wilson was not a school of choice, the school did have a strong positive culture built around core values. Teachers bought into the values and they worked assiduously to have students and their families do the same.

If schools want to become communities where social capital is a resource available for students and all other parties, they can learn from the five themes that emerged in the analysis. The themes are not new; but they combine as a constellation of interrelated approaches that derive their power from their effective integration. Building a consensus on the purpose of the school and creating a normative system consistent with the purpose are fundamental activities. While the administrator is the facilitator of this process, teachers are the primary agents in translating the purpose of the school into -- at minimum -- a meaningful and coherent program for students, characterized by high standards for teaching and learning, by norms of civility, and by caring and support. If older students are involved in socializing younger students into the normative system of the school, the socialization process is more likely to make an enduring imprint. Involving parents in upholding school norms in their interactions with their child is essential. When a school succeeds in institutionalizing its values and norms in a complementary social-structural context, the school functions as a community where social capital is abundant.

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Figure 1: Aspects of School Normative Systems in Creating and Sustaining Social Capital

	CALVIN COOLIDGE	ZACHARY TAYLOR	WOODROW WILSON	ANDREW JACKSON	CARDINAL MCGUIRE	ST. FRANCIS ASSISI
Espoused Values	Community values, hard work, fitting in, into sports	Motivation, engagement, achievement (for kids); collegiality, cooperation (for teachers); relational bonds (among teachers and students)	Collaboration; helping others; community; respect; critical consciousness; tolerance	Trust, Collaboration, Acceptance, Respect, Diversity in Interests and Choices; Encouragement of Individual Differences	Wholistic Education; Service; Tolerance; Caring; Compassion; Forgiveness; Respect	Family, Caring, Human Dignity, Unity, Respect, Achievement
School Normative Culture	Lack of trust between teachers and kids on personal issues; orderly; professional bureaucracy; sense of being well- known; general amicability; trust among kids; no locks on lockers	Said to be improved, but looks troubled; low teacher morale; purposeless students; anomic	Strong professional community among teachers – atmosphere of learning, risk-taking, collaborating seems to pass on to kids; diversity, mutual respect, appreciation, interacting students	Reflects espoused values; high trust between teachers and kids; kids will talk about personal issues with teachers emphasis on collaboration; kids and teachers on first name basis	Relational, generally collegial environment; religious; religious order sponsorship; aspiring to be a "family;" eye to the "market;" lock-step schedule; cheating epidemic, assembly called; sign pledge not to cheat; some fights and skirmishes	Largely reflects values, but lack of consensus among faculty on what values mean in practice. Orderly, respectful environment; religious; culture of caring; dissonances – "associates;" teachers; spokes to hub; lock-step schedule; no fights
Pupil Assignment	Residential	Residential	Residential	Choice	Choice	Choice
Contracts				Pre-enrollment agreement on positive participation in Community program; abide by behavior code and standards	Commitment to handbook required at admission –signed acceptance; teachers must sign a "code of conduct" re their work with students (p.63)	Not on paper, but the constant reminder – "a St. Francis Assisi student 24 hours a day, 7 days a week, 365 days a year."
Enculturation	Happens early and naturally; kids from community; in same building together since kindergarten	Aim of 9th grade Success Academy -- socialization to hs; low motivation; street norms are strong and diverse	Peer mentoring (2 programs); Mentors have daily contact; advisories; weekly seminars?	Ongoing enculturation of new students by older ones – how we do or do not do things around here	Peer ministers have big and ongoing socialization role; What it means to be (1) a student and (2) at CMHS	
Sanctions	Informal discipline procedures mostly; some kids always in the office; detailed handbook; possible alternative h.s.	Uneven enforcement of discipline; breakdown in norms (60-62)		Can be reassigned; No detentions or in-school suspensions; students must repay the community	Academic probation; discipline board	Detentions; $50 fine if missed; kids are "invited back"

Figure 1 (Continued): Aspects of School Normative Systems in Creating and Sustaining Social Capital

	CALVIN COOLIDGE	ZACHARY TAYLOR	WOODROW WILSON	ANDREW JACKSON	CARDINAL MCGUIRE	ST. FRANCIS ASSISI
Admin. Leadership	Principal is well-liked; former teacher and coach; friendly; in the halls; keeps it simple; buffers teacher; power of superintendent	New principal (middle school, academy structure back-ground); academies have administrators with broader roles as well	Principal is beloved leader, visible, relational, had been a teacher there for 15 years, respected, sense of humor	New principal; opinion about her somewhat divided	President hired principal; strong, controlling team; building an identity, more cohesive vision; sense that president will get rid of people she doesn't want on staff	Strong; controlling; much admired; culture builder; enforcer of norms; at the hub; keeper of the dream; champion of the school and the kids; sets the tone; cooks - "lucky spaghetti." Intercom; ad-hoc assemblies
Teacher Culture	Unless teachers "are Coolidge;" don't last long, if not; many graduated from Coolidge, live in town; tend not to attend school events (but may be different for sports); see themselves as professionals (dress); cohorts; meetings rare; faculty collaboration rare; "professional" distance from kids; arrive 15 minutes before school; leave right after	Relatively high teacher turnover; 15% daily teacher absenteeism; lack of shared standards; uneven enforcement of discipline; teachers support each other, but don't socialize; kids interviewed had a "teacher to turn to;" teachers do not communicate across academies despite coordinating structures	Professional community grows out of Socratic seminars, high expectations common time to plan; staff retreats, freshman team meetings; collaboration; critical friends groups; professional openness; teacher as learner; listen to kids, open, intervene; high personal commitment, dedication; make parent contact; trained in conflict, anger management	Teachers as learners; teachers have a lot of informal, non-school contact with kids in social and leisure context; teachers have a non-bureaucratic preference - to talk things out rather than to have a systematized process to follow; low teacher turnover; most live in the area; staff are a family of sorts	Involved faculty with common mission; balkanized in some respects; mentorship for new teachers; high expectations for students; encourage best work; most will help kids; some deadwood; next to no interdepartmental cooperation; departments rarely meet; informal meetings and sharing more common; teacher-student activities	Caring and committed; some are academics first, others are personalism first; under contract to do 1 hour after- school tutorials twice weekly; will also stay after to talk to kids; faculty interaction weak; lack of camaraderie - maybe 1 person to relate to, but all relate to principal; high turnover; teaching as ministry for many
Ritual Reinforcement				Opening convocation in church; what it means to be a CHS student; expectations and traditions are laid out.	Retreats; 9th graders get to know each other and rules and regs of MHS; get peer minister buddies; retreats for 10thand 11th grade also	Senior Day; liturgies; prayer services; retreats; dinner for athletes before games, a St. Francis Assisi tradition, sports reputation; icons and legends

Figure 2: Aspects of the Social Structure in Creating and Maintaining Social Capital

	CALVIN COOLIDGE	ZACHARY TAYLOR	WOODROW WILSON	ANDREW JACKSON	CARDINAL MCGUIRE	ST. FRANCIS ASSISI
Structures of Closure and Continuity	Intergenerational closure; dense, overlapping relational networks; have same teachers for two or three years; a small town, so chance encounters frequent -- at stores, in church; families know all kids; they've been together since kindergarten	9th grade instructional team in transition academy (just one year)	Daily advisories and divisions; such structures may also exist for teachers in CFG, seminar structure	Forums - students with teacher 4 years; provide continual adult contact, peer support,monitoring, counseling. Meet twice a week for 95 minutes. Forum leaders are "moms" at school; see interim reports and reports; make home visits; [Community Resource Program; CARE Team; Individual Learning Center]		
Governance				Democratic decision making; monthly town meetings; kids on hiring committee for teachers and principal; kids involved in major decisions. SIT includes dean, 2 teachers, 2 kids, at least 5 parents; large easel pad collects issues for town meeting; flat organization	Hierarchical organization; President, principal, 2 ass't principals, 2 deans, directors, department chairs, director of discipline, ass't director, discipline board, board of directors	Very little happens w/o principal's stamp of approval; principal is a consensus builder; archdiocesan school board, but no local board; flat organization
Parental Roles	Parent non-involvement is district policy; parents have considerable power; they call each other to check things out, strategize; feel free to contact school board	Weak parent-teacher (and parent-student) ties; no parents on SIT; lack of parent support of school norms leads to absenteeism, discipline problems	Parents feel school is open and accessible; principal spends a great deal of time with parents; parents like small size; teachers maintain contact with parents	Involvement welcomed; they are in governance, PTSO, other committees; teachers have regular contact with parents	Must do 15 volunteer hours per year; strong parent club; school stays in touch with phone calls, newsletters, report card pick up; parents depend on relationships with teachers for help	Open-door policy for class-room visits; strong support of parents for teachers; close parent/teacher contact

Figure 2 (Continued): Aspects of the Social Structure in Creating and Maintaining Social Capital

	CALVIN COOLIDGE	ZACHARY TAYLOR	WOODROW WILSON	ANDREW JACKSON	CARDINAL MCGUIRE	ST. FRANCIS ASSISI
Structures of Support		15 minute homerooms; coach classes; interdisciplinary teams; teachers have 90 minute planning time daily;	Advisories and divisions; attendance networks (parents, teachers, counselors, attendance officers)	CARE Team - social worker, guidance counselors, assistant dean; team meets daily; teachers bring concerns re kids. "Feeler" form; Individual Learning Center- special academic help (classes are heterogeneously grouped); Teachers have alternating blocks, so free to help kids	Academic safety net - progress reports, meeting with principal, with counselor; close monitoring	Academic safety net - for kids who fall below a "C" in a subject; principal, parents, teacher and counselor work together; weekly reports and tutorials.
Other Structural Conditions	For FFA students, home visits by moderator; some peer tutoring starting up		Peer tutoring	Small size; small physical plant; just 25 teachers; lunch is 60 minutes; 10 minutes between classes; open campus; no cafeteria; no sports		